

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7163

INFO USMISSION BERLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

USEC BRUSSELS PRIORITY 993

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 12265

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, WB, GW, UR, US, UK, FR

SUBJECT: SOVIET MFA STATEMENT ON BERLIN AND THE EC PARLIAMENT

1. SUMMARY. IN PRESENTING MFA STATEMENT ON BERLIN AND THE EC PARLIAMENT TO ME AUGUST 3 (UK AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS RECEIVED IT SAME DAY), MFA THIRD EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT CHIEF BONDARENKO STRESSED SERIOUSNESS SOVIETS ATTACH TO PROSPECT OF BERLIN REPRESENTATION IN EC PARLIAMENT AND EXPRESSED VIEW THAT STATUS WOULD INEVITABLY BE AFFECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. BONDARENKO REQUESTED THAT I CALL AT 5:30 P.. MOSCOW TIME AUGUST 3 TO RECEIVE TEXT OF STATEMENT (TEXT LAST PARA BELOW); HE HAD SEEN FRENC AMBASSADOR DE LEUSSE AND UK AMBASSADOR SMITH AT 3:00 AND 4:00 P.M.

3. AFTER READING TEXT, BONDARENKO SAIS THAT THE PARLIAMENT IS A SERIOUS MATTER: "IT SMELLS OF
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STATE." AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE PRESENT EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT,

THE PARLIAMENT NOW ENVISAGED WOULD HAVE SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A NATIONAL PARLIAMENT. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY THAT BERLIN REPRESENTATION WOULD NOT BE IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE TERMS OF THE QA. HE ASKED ME TO PASS ON THE CONCERN HE HAD EXPRESSED. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT FINAL DECISIONS HAD NOT YET BEEN TAKEN, AND THAT THE MATTER WAS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. THE SOVIET UNION HAD ADDRESSED ITSELF TO THE UK AND FRANCE, AS WELL AS THE U.S. THE SOVIETS WERE FORMING THEIR OPINION ON THE BASIS OF STATEMENTS BY FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, AND HAD NOT YET HEARD THE VIEWS OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER, GENSCHER HAD SPOKEN AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE RELEVANT DISCUSSIONS AND AS FRG FOREIGN MINISTER.

4. I REPLIED THAT I WOULD REPORT SOVIET GOVERNMENT VIEWS, AND WAS SURE THEY WOULD RECEIVE ALL APPROPRIATE ATTENTION. AS HE HAD NOTED, FINAL DECISIONS HAD NOT YET BEEN TAKEN IN THIS MATTER. AS I UNDERSTOOD THE STATUS OF THE DISCUSSIONS, BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES WERE TO BE INDIRECTLY ELECTED. AS FAR AS THE QA WAS CONCERNED, MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT IT DEALT WITH THE RELATIONSHIP OF BERLIN TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, AND NOT TO ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE AS A WHOLE. (BONDARENKO INTERJECTED "ABSOLUTELY TRUE.") WHATEVER HAPPENS CONCERNING THE EC AND THE DECISIONS IT MIGHT TAKE, I CONCLUDED, WE AND THE OTHER ALLIED POWERS WOULD WISH TO ASSURE THAT THE STATUS OF BERLIN WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED. I NOTED THAT THESE WERE PRELIMINARY COMMENTS, GIVEN ON A PERSONAL BASIS AND WITHOUT INSTRUCTION.

5. BONDARENKO REPEATED THAT THE ISSUES ARE VERY SERIOUS. STATE-POLITICAL INTEGRATION IS INVOLVED. THE SOVIETS ARE NOT ABSOLUTELY SURE OF WHAT THE CURRENT STATUS IS, BUT THE INFORMATION THEY HAVE SUGGESTS THAT THE EC INTENDS TO ACCEPT A CONSTITUTION, WITH PROVISIONS FOR COMMON CITIZENSHIP. EXTENSION TO BERLIN WOULD INEVITABLY AFFECT THE STATUS OF THE CITY AS IT CURRENTLY STANDS. HE HOPED THE U.S. WOULD PAY APPROPRIATE ATTENTION TO SOVIET CONCERNS. THE SOVIETS REALIZE THE U.S. IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE EC, BUT AS A QA SIGNATORY IT HAS A CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR WEST BERLIN.

6. CONCLUDING WITH AN EXAMPLE OF PROBLEMS ARISING WITH REGARD TO BERLIN, BONDARENKO DESCRIBED (ON A "COMPLETELY UNOFFICIAL" BASIS) DOBRYNIN'S PROPOSAL TO HARTMAN OF AN EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QA, AND THEN SHOWED ME THE TAGESSPIEGEL ARTICLE ON A "DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE OF THE USSR" WHICH STATED THAT THE THREE WESTERN POWERS HAD REJECTED THE PROPOSAL. THIS WAS AFTER THE SOVIET SIDE HAD GIVEN THE U.S. A DRAFT TEXT OF WHAT IT HAD IN MIND. THE SOVIETS WERE SURPRISED TO SEE A BERLIN PAPER SPEAK FOR THE THREE WESTERN POWERS IN THIS MATTER. SUCH INCIDENTS ONLY COMPLICATE THE SITUATION FOR EVERYONE. I REPLIED THAT WE CONSIDERED THE LEAK UNFORTUNATE AND INACCURATE, AND THAT WE WOULD

ADOPT A NO-COMMENT APPROACH TO IT.

7. TEXT OF SOVIET MFA STATEMENT IN OUR TRANSLATION FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, AT THE MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC) IN BRUSSELS IN JULY OF THIS YEAR THE DECISION WAS TAKEN TO HOLD DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE SO-CALLED EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION THE FRG DELEGATION STATED THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED DECISION WILL BE EXTENDED TO THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN. THIS STATEMENT WAS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION (PRINYATO K SVEDENIYU) BY THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE MEETING, INCLUDING THE HEADS OF DELEGATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

8. IT IS ALSO REPORTED THAT WEST BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE INCLUDED AMONG THE DEPUTIES TO THE "EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND WILL BE GRANTED THE SAME RIGHTS AS THEY. EXTENSION OF FRG LEGISLATION ON DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE "EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" TO THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN IS ENVISAGED. IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN THEMSELVES "PLENIPOTENTIARIES" TO PREPARE THESE ELECTIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN NAMED.

9. ALL THIS CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED AS AN EFFORT, IN CLEAR CONTRADICTION TO THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971, TO DRAW THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN INTO THE PROCESS OF WEST EUROPEAN STATE-POLITICAL INTEGRATION. THE COUNTRIES OF THE EC, AS IS KNOWN, HAVE SET THE GOAL OF CREATING A UNITED PARLIAMENT, WHICH OVER TIME SHOULD BE GRANTED NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE FULL POWERS. IT IS CLEAR (PONYATNO) THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN IN SUCH AN ORGAN -- AND, IN ADDITION, AMONG THE DEPUTIES FROM THE FRG -- WOULD TOUCH DIRECTLY UPON THE QUESTION OF THE STATUS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

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10. THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN HAVE THEIR OWN SPECIAL STATUS AND GOVERNMENTAL REGIME. THEY ARE NOT A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG AND ARE NOT GOVERNED BY IT. NOR CAN THEY BE SUBORDINATED TO ORGANS OF THE EC, WHATEVER THE RESERVATIONS WITH WHICH THIS MAY BE EFFECTED. (KAKIMI BY OGOVORKAMI ETO NI OBSTAVLYALOS). THE EXTENSION TO THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN OF EC JURISDICTION (KOMPETENTSII) WOULD CONSTITUTE A REVISION OF THE STATUS OF THAT CITY AS IT IS DEFINED BY THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 AND OTHER FOUR-POWER DECISIONS AND UNDERSTANDINGS.

11. THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT PARTICIPATION OF WEST BERLIN IN ELECTIONS TO THE "EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" WOULD REPRESENT A GROSS VIOLATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE GOAL OF THE PARTIES, REGISTERED IN IT, OF

AVOIDING COMPLICATIONS IN THE AGREEMENT'S AREA OF OPERATIONS
(RAION DEISTVIYA). THE SOVIET SIDE EXPECTS THAT THE THREE
WESTERN POWERS WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO PREVENT
(NE DOPUSTIT') SUCH A DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS, THE ENTIRE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHICH WOULD LIE WITH THE WESTERN SIDE.
END TEXT.
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